Harry's now wearing Winnie's old hat

Looking older and a trifle more pickled in brandy, but with cigar as big and fat as ever, Winston Churchill, keeper of His Majesty's Diminishing Empire, arrived last week in Washington for the latest instructions from Marse Harry Truman, Curator of the Expanding American Colonial System. For a look at how our colonials feel about our overlordship, see Elmer Bendiner's story on Puerto Rico (p. 6) and the "Americans, go home" story on p. 8. On p. 2 we print a poem by a man named Shelley (he wouldn't stand a chance before the House Un-American Committee) which incited some English slaves to better things more than 125 years ago. And on p. 12 Cedric Belfrage reviews a book (Howard Fast's "Spartacus") about a fighting slave by a fighting American author. All in all a sassy issue in 12 pages—made possible by two full page ads.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
5 cents
Vol. 4, No. 12 NEW YORK, N. Y., JANUARY 9, 1952

WAR & PEACE

Congress worried about war; Truman at new low in poll

ON CAPITOL HILL excitement was in the air as Congressmen streamed in for the 82nd Congress' 2nd session—their eyes fixed on Nov. 4, when all the House, a third of the Senate, and the Presidency will be at stake. Congressmen "back from seeing home folks" reported them "bitter about continued fighting in Korea" (N.Y. **World Telegram**, Jan. 5).

President Truman worked on his State of the Union Address, Economic Report and Budget Message—together a political platform for '52. In addition to his usual multi-billion bill for arms, he was expected to ask "the complete Fair Deal package" including health insurance, housing, civil rights. Of these, **Newsweek** commented (Jan. 7):

> **He actually doesn't expect to get them. In requesting them, he'll simply be reciting again the piece that won him votes in 1948 . . . strictly a political gesture.**

The President's popularity, measured by the Gallup Poll, was at its lowest ebb: 23% in Dec., 1951 (it was 24% in June, 1951, 36% in April, 1948, 87% in April, 1945). Increasingly sensitive to criticism, Truman, who at his Dec. 16 press conference blasted individual papers and reporters, last week became the first U. S. President in 19 years to try "to bar from his press conference questions he doesn't want asked" (**Christian Science Monitor**, Jan. 4).

IKE IS REP.—OFFICIAL: The preconvention campaign got under way with perennial candidate Harold Stassen joining Ohio's Robert Taft and California's Governor Warren on the Republican side; a shy expression of "interest" by Democratic Sen. Kefauver, TV crime-buster hero, was greeted with "loud, eloquent and scornful silence" by his Southern Democratic colleagues (Arthur Krock, N.Y. **Times**, Jan. 5). **Life** (Rockefeller-Morgan) urged the nomination of Eisenhower ("What a boost he could give to the national morale! And to the rest of the free world's too!"), whom Democratic Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.) called the people's "overwhelming favorite."

Action, Paris

"I think he must be mad at somebody."

On Sunday Eisenhower was officially put in the race by his campaign manager, Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge, who told reporters the general is a Republican, will be entered in the New Hampshire primary, is in the race "to the finish," and knew all about Lodge's announcement. An Eisenhower aide in Paris said "silence is sometimes more eloquent than any statement." Lodge is a political lieutenant of the Morgan interests. Other leaders of the movement include Sen. Duff (a spokesman for the Mellon interests) and, for the Rockefellers, N. Y.'s Governor Dewey.

OUTSIDE LOOKING IN: The announcements roused little popular interest. The reason was suggested by Garet Garrett in the **Wall St. Journal**, Jan. 3: the people will not be permitted to vote on policy. Declaring that the U. S. has been committed to "the course of empire," he cited as evidence the "dominant power" of "executive principles"; "surrender to the President of the exclusive power of Congress to declare war"; "a system of foreign alliances"; the doctrine that the U. S. "must be defended in Europe, Asia and Africa"; the "unlimited liability to go to war when and if one of our allies may be attacked"; "adoption of a garrison state, immediately as costly as war and ultimately more costly"; "de facto control of the public purse by Executive government." Garrett added:

> **The people, however, have never voted on it. They have never been asked to vote on it. The country has been committed to the course of empire by the ideas, innovations and adventures of Executive government in the field of foreign policy. . . . [Suppose that] you believe there is an alternative course. Where is your candidate? . . . The only point here is to say that while there is an alternative course, there is almost no probability that the people are going to be permitted to vote for it or against it.**

WALL ST. CALLS THE PEOPLE: The **Wall St. Journal**, while not entirely agreeing, commented editorially:

> **There is no man nor any group of men who can do for the people what they are unwilling to do for themselves. . . . The end will be bankruptcy and a receiver in bankruptcy. Then, too late, will the people know that government cannot do anything for them. It can only do things to them.**

Canard Enchaine, Paris

"I TOLD you not to play with your Xmas atom bomb in the living room!"

A similar thought was voiced by Eugene Wilson, former pres. of United Aircraft, who was quoted (N. Y. **Daily News**, Jan. 2) as saying that unless military spending is taken promptly in hand,

> **. . . we shall surely commit national suicide. . . . Here, in truth, civilians are now the prisoners of the high brass.**

The extent to which the bipartisan

Continued on Page 3)

The man without a friend

MAJ. Gen. William Dean had been last seen surrounded and still fighting at Taegon, South Korea, on July 25, 1950. The U. S. had no word from him directly until last month when Wilfred Burchett, correspondent for the Paris **Ce Soir**, covering the war from the Chinese-North Korean side, interviewed him in a POW camp.

His story was picked up by U. S. papers but printed only in part. Last week Burchett's uncensored account came in from China. It described the general, deserted by his men, injured, falling unconscious then waking to find himself alone. He wandered about South Korea and found not a single friendly Korean. He told Burchett:

> **"Five times I was encircled. Four of these times it was from children seeing me and telling their parents. Within a few minutes local militia would appear with rifles and other weapons looking for me. . . . I realized that North Korean influence had been exercised in the South. No place was really safe for me."**

DISILLUSION: He said that after 20 days with no food, drinking water that lay in the rice paddies, he found "a well-dressed English-speaking chap" who offered to lead him to safety. Dean offered him $40 right there, another $1,000 if he got him to Taegu. It meant a fortune to a Korean; but the man, pretending to accept, turned him in.

(**Newsweek** reported the same incident this way:

> **Like Judas Iscariot who received 30 pieces of silver ($42) for the arch-betrayal of all history, the two South Koreans who led Maj. Gen. William F. Dean into Red captivity in Aug., 1950, sold out cheaply. The two, Han Doo Kyoo and Choe Chong Bong, who have been arrested and confessed, got 30,000 won ($5) each. They didn't even keep the rewards for themselves. They donated the money to the Communist cause.)**

Burchett said the general "seemed disillusioned by the way his own troops behaved, and completely astounded to find that an American officer could not find one friend among the people of South Korea."

HE WAS LUCKIER: Dean showed Burchett letters he had written to Gen. Kim Il Sung, North Korean commander, thanking him for "kind and considerate treatment . . . good food and comfortable quarters and even warm clothing." He complained only that during U. S. air raids he was pushed into shelters while his guards risked their lives protecting him.

Burchett wrote:

> **Dean was luckier than many Koreans near Pyongyang. While on my way to visit the general, I watched a flight of American planes napalm a peaceful village and leave it completely in flames. Three planes which attacked the vehicle in which I was traveling later turned their guns on women and children who were sheltering in the nearby maize fields.**

Within a few days after the North Koreans released POW details including camp sites, the area near Gen. Dean's own camp near Pyongyang suffered its worst strafing and rocket attack.

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Vol. 4, No. 12 178 JANUARY 9, 1952

How crazy can you get dept.

Dr. Irving P. Krick, pres. of the Water Resources Development Corp., before the Wednesday luncheon of the Denver Board of Realtors pointed out . . . Communism thrives best in areas of low productivity and want, whereas increased rainfall can increase productivity and thus foil the Reds. . . . "Thus through the fact that rainmaking work centers here, we may feel that we are sitting in the midst of the world battlefield in Colorado."

Dr. Krick cited observations on a recent trip in Spain. . . ."There is nothing wrong with Spain that a 20% increase in rainfall would not cure," he said. "By expending relatively small amounts, we could . . . restore Spain to prosperity and save it from Communism."

Denver Post, Nov. 8, 1951.

A year's free sub to the reader submitting each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: A. D. Bishop, Denver, Colo.

In every community

CHICKASHA, OKLA.

As I write this my three small sons play around my feet and as I watch them I wonder what their future will be. Will it be free and happy? Or will they always live under fear of an atomic war as their parents are living now? Or will they even live at all? So it is with millions of other children in America today. Let each of us talk with our neighbors and relatives and enlist their help in forming a peace organization that will distribute peace literature and promote a truer democracy for all. Let our motto be: "A peace committee in every community." **Lenora Beavers**

Up a buck in Aurora

AURORA, WASH.

This is to put you on notice that I have raised the subscription rate for the GUARDIAN to $3 a year for myself. The enclosed $3 is for a renewal. **Glen Anderson**

Never faltered

CROTON-ON-HUDSON, N. Y.

Surely we, the ex-defendants in the case of the Peace Information Center, send you this greeting with warmest feeling. In the face of the press conspiracy of silence, in the face of the efforts at intimidation of those who speak out for peace, your paper never faltered but carried on a powerful and courageous battle. To you we owe, in no small part, the support and the protests that flowed into the offices of our government and balanced the scale for justice.

All honor to the staff and all honor to them again in their pioneer work in the Rosenberg case, the case that will, I believe, go down in history along with the Dreyfus and the Sacco-Vanzetti cases.

I must, however, refuse to carry out one of your requests. I will not pass along my copy. I need it, I use it. But I do enclose a small contribution so that you may send the paper to some one who does not now have it. And I WILL try to get more readers and more subs. **Elizabeth Moos**

Derogatory term

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

In the Nov. 14 issue of the GUARDIAN there appeared a letter signed by Dorothy Cheng, who carelessly used the derogatory term "Jap."

Several of our members have commented on this. It seems to us that it would be worth while to take note in your columns of the error so that we can all avoid similar mistakes in the future.

A. M. Stevens, Chairman
County Central Committee
Ind. Progressive Party

Silence is crime!

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

I recently have been reading some poetry by John Greenleaf Whittier. In his time the pro-slavery Calhoun introduced a bill in Congress making it a crime for postmen "knowingly to deliver, to any person whatever, any pamphlet, newspaper, handbill, or other printed paper or pictorial representation, touching the subject of slavery." I was struck by its similarity in our day with the McCarran Act (particularly the part where a "Communist Action Group" must print that inscription on all its mail). Whittier was so outraged by Calhoun's bill that he wrote a poem entitled "A Summons" against it. Whittier's words are peculiarly fit for today. A stanza reads:

Now, when our land to ruin's brink is verging,
In God's name, let us speak while there is time!
Now, when the padlocks for our lips are forging,
Silence is crime!

Martin Levitt

Blood and sun

BALTIMORE, MD.

Two appropriate headlines for our daily press these days could very truly read:

PRESIDENT TRUMAN VACATIONS IN FLORIDA — TAKES SUN-BATH!

AMERICAN YOUTH SENT TO KOREA — TAKE BLOOD-BATH!

L. P. F.

Fred Wright in UE News

"Sorry Bub. . . . We can't help you here. . . . Better see your shop steward."

For Mr. Churchill's Visit

Song to the Men of England

By Percy Bysshe Shelley

I

Men of England, wherefore plough
For the lords who lay ye low?
Wherefore weave with toil and care
The rich robes your tyrants wear?

II

Wherefore feed and clothe, and save,
From the cradle to the grave,
Those ungrateful drones who would
Drain your sweat — nay, drink your blood?

III

Wherefore, Bees of England, forge
Many a weapon, chain, and scourge,
That these stingless drones may spoil
The forced produce of your toil?

IV

Have ye leisure, comfort, calm,
Shelter, food, love's gentle balm?
Or what is it ye buy so dear
With your pain and with your fear?

V

The seed ye sow, another reaps;
The wealth ye find, another keeps;
The robes ye weave, another wears;
The arms ye forge, another bears.

VI

Sow seed — but let no tyrant reap;
Find wealth — let no impostor heap;
Weave robes — let not the idle wear;
Forge arms — in your defense to bear.

VII

Shrink to your cellars, holes, and cells;
In halls ye deck another dwells.
Why shake the chains ye wrought? Ye see
The steel ye tempered glance on ye.

VIII

With plough and spade, and hoe and loom,
Trace your grave and build your tomb,
And weave your winding-sheet, till fair
England be your sepulchre.

(The Los Angeles reader who sent in Shelley's poem asked: "Was Shelley a red? Would you print this poem in your paper? Would a teacher be fired for including this poem among the school literature?")

Missouri readers!

MOBERLY, MO.

Dear Missouri Guardian Readers:

Your freedom from fascist tyranny hangs in the balance. The Hilsman Bill was brought up on the floor of the House after the Elections Committee voted it out of committee without notifying those opposed to the bill. A storm of opposition broke out, and the bill was shelved for a time. It can stay shelved if you will write three letters before Jan. 21 to (1) Speaker Roy Hamlin; (2) Mrs. Jennie Walsh, the sponsor in the House, and (2) your own Representative. Address them House Post Office, Jefferson City, Mo., with the notation to "Please Forward."

(Rev.) David W. Janes

Upholding the oath

SULLIVAN, IND.

Any judge worthy of the name knows that judges like Delbert Metzger and Matthew McGuire are being faithful to their oaths to uphold the Constitution while Medina, Ryan, Kaufman, Vinson, Clark, Jackson, Minton, Reed, Frankfurter and Burton are recklessly sending patriotic Americans to jail and prison in brazen defiance of the unequivocal safeguards of the Bill of Rights.

Norval K. Harris, Judge
Sullivan Circuit Court

People on our side

SAN ANTONIO, TEX.

I agree with Mr. Fred Mansur in his suggestion of a column entitled "How Sane Can You Get." We progressives tend to be too morbid—not that it isn't easy to be with the world as it is, but such morbidity leads, I believe, to despair, and despair to inactivity and resignation—the very things we should be fighting. Once in a while we need to know that we are winning a little, that someone is on our side. **Esther Rubinstein**

For Alex Shalit

CHICAGO, ILL.

Am sending a contribution of $10 in memory of my beloved husband Alex He was a great admirer of your paper, as I am, and would have been happy, had he been alive, that you have succeeded to keep going as you do and give such wonderful and truthful reports.

Miriam Shalit

High credit rating

ST. LOUIS, MO.

In rereading Ambassador Joseph Davies' Mission to Moscow, I came across on page 6 the following:

"My old friend Owen D. Young, Chairman of the Board of General Electric, spent a couple of hours with me discussing Russia. GE has done millions of dollars' worth of business with Amtorg, the official agency of the Soviet government. He tells me that the Soviet government has an exceptionally high credit rating in banking and business circles in New York and this country; that they have a reputation of being meticulously careful to meet their financial obligations promptly and even before the due date. In the course of business relations running into millions of dollars and covering 10 or 15 years, he stated that the Soviets had been scrupulously prompt in their payments and had lived up to their promises in every respect. **He gave them a most excellent reputation for living up to their promises."**

This is the same Soviet government of which President Truman says its promises are not worth the paper they are written on—President Truman of mink coat, deep freeze, and tax scandal fame.

Clara Perkins

The Rosenberg fight

NEW YORK, N. Y.

We want you to know how precious the GUARDIAN has become to us, especially since its coverage of the Rosenberg case. We have contributed to this cause and know many others have since you've published it. **Evelyn A. Brown**

•

CHICAGO, ILL.

Keep up the fight on the Rosenbergs. This is the good fight, the patriot's struggle. Your efforts may turn a whole historical table.

Eugene Du Fresne

Three questions

GLENDALE, CALIF.

Why, in a democracy, can the FBI or any other agency photograph each private citizen entering a public hearing or a public trial? By what constitutional license can the rights of private citizens be so abrogated?

Why, in a democracy, at Un-American hearings, are witnesses constantly confronted with the accusation: "You signed a petition . . . " or "You sponsored a newspaper ad"? By what constitutional license can the citizen's right to petition and free speech be infringed?

Why, in a democracy, is there such a gimmick as "subversiveness"? Either an organization or a book is legal or it is illegal. If it is legal, then it is NOT subversive. This subversive gimmick is a plot to have our cake and eat it, too; to label the can "democracy" while the contents are in reality that of the police state.

When is democracy not democracy? When it is native fascism. Huey Long was certainly correct when he said that fascism would come to us wrapped in the American flag. **(Dr.) Jerome J. Vielle**

Can they write?

LEWISTON, IDAHO

The big monopolies are spreading it on thick these days.

They have their lackeys out making prepared speeches indoctrinating school children, as well as adults, against democracy as Paine and Jefferson meant it to be, and as Lincoln and Roosevelt caused it to be. They call such democracy socialism, etc.

If these self-same monopolistic lackeys had to write their own speeches most of them would not succeed for lack of gray matter in a cavity camouflaged by a mop of hair or no hair at all.

James F. Moore

Pure poison

RANSOMVILLE, N. C.

Some of our corporation propagandists are now yelling vociferously that we should expand the Korean war into an all-out war in Asia. H. V. Kaltenborn, for example, speaking for the Pureoil Co., thinks (in return for an ample salary, of course) that we should blockade the China coast and send our bombers across the Yalu River.

This would be as much an act of war against China, obviously, as China's blockading our Pacific Coast and sending bombers over San Francisco and Los Angeles would be an act of war again us.

The fact that the Pureoil Co., through its spokesman, Mr. Kaltenborn, can continue the murder of humanity by advocating a still bigger war, indicates what we can expect of our greedy, corrupt business interests. **Vernon Ward**

YOUR NEIGHBORS

Need NATIONAL GUARDIAN—the GUARDIAN needs your neighbors. Show this issue to a neighbor and sign him up today.

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Name and address (include postal zone)

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN, 17 Murray St., New York 7

Congress is back worried about war

(Continued from Page 1)

policy, to which all Presidential candidates hasten to subscribe, runs counter to the people's desires was indicated by a recent Gallup survey on what Americans want tomorrow's news to be, published in **Argosy**, Jan., 1952. **Argosy** reported:

> Some 80% of those interviewed—the biggest single group by far—wanted to see a headline which would announce something like WORLD PEACE ESTABLISHED or NO MORE WARS or KOREAN WAR ENDS.
>
> Only 5% wanted to hear that RUSSIAN PEOPLE THROW OUT COMMUNISM or RUSSIA COLLAPSES or STALIN DROPS DEAD.

Kontakt, Oslo

THE COLD WAR

Small nations back new Soviet peace plan in Paris

WASHINGTON's "Tom Thumb politicians" (Alsop brothers, Dec. 31) last week turned down still another opportunity to end the Korean and cold wars. In Paris, Soviet Foreign Minister Vishinsky proposed that the UN General Assembly ask the Security Council to hold—as provided in the UN Charter—a periodic high-level meeting to consider measures to remove international tension, with ending of the Korean War as first agenda item. The proposal was coupled with a resolution to abolish the Collective Measures Committee set up under the Acheson Plan to transfer "sanctions against aggression" to the Assembly. The U.S. delegation bluntly rejected the proposal; in Washington, Secy. Acheson said its acceptance would be "disastrous." But the N.Y. **Times'** Thomas J. Hamilton reported from Paris Jan. 5 that

> . . . there is strong sentiment in favor of accepting the Soviet proposal for a special meeting of the Security Council without specifying what it would take up. One well-informed West European delegate in fact criticized the U.S. stand against such a meeting now, and declared that as the situation now stood such a proposal would win the majority in the Committee. . . . Leading members of the U.S., British, and French delegations were all concerned over the favorable reaction in Europe to the Soviet proposal and conferred tonight on a common strategy. . . .

"DELICATE SITUATION": Six Arab states and Iran announced support for the proposal. The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (Jan. 5) reported that

> . . . a specific movement began today among smaller countries to try to force the scheduling of a special Security Council meeting, perhaps with Foreign Ministers attending. . . . [They amended the Soviet resolution to remove that section calling for abolition of the Collective Measures Committeee, but left intact] the call for a special Council meeting with priority for Korean discussions. It appeared likely that considerable support for the amendment would be found among the Asian countries, some Western Europeans and some Latin Americans.

Washington's answer to this "extremely delicate situation" (N.Y. **Times**) was a tentative decision to support a high-level Council meeting, but only "on condition that the Council itself should decide when this should be held" (**Times**, Jan. 6)—and that there should be no reference to Korea. The **Times'** Hamilton explained the strategy:

> A majority of seven of the 11 members of the Security Council would be required to call such a meeting and the opposition of the Western Big Three would be sufficient to defeat the Soviet proposal.

"U.S. NOT SERIOUS"—ALLIES: Whether this strategy would work was not yet clear. Arab-Asian delegates withheld comment; the **Times** (Jan. 6) said "the Korean War has filled most of them [our allies] with misgivings . . . they have become increasingly nervous about the protracted talks." The Chicago **Daily News'** Ernie Hill on Dec. 27 had been more explicit, reporting that Washington's allies

> . . . contend—and obviously believe—that the U.S. is not making a serious effort to end the war in Korea. Also, that it is not trying to reach agreement on disarmament and atom-bomb control or to relax East-West tensions. . . .
>
> Their theory . . . is that the U.S. Congress would cut off military appropriations if the Korean War ended and a peace arrangement was made with Russia. The U.S., as a result, must keep the situation tense to continue the buildup at home and in Europe. That is what delegates say. . . . Disarmament and atom-bomb control, they say, could be agreed upon with Russia if the U.S. seriously worked on a plan.

Of the reception accorded 50 "UN guests"—soldiers and officers of Ridgway's army — **Paris-Presse-L'Intransigeant** reported:

> Many of the Latin-American countries, the Arab countries and Pakistan boycotted all the official receptions in honor of the "guests from Korea."

MORE PEACE VOICES: The **Times** (Jan. 6) felt that even should Vishinsky's proposal for Security Council action on Korea fail, it "can be expected to increase Allied pressure on the U.S. to make concessions in the negotiations." In Korea, talks were still deadlocked on the questions of POW exchange and armistice enforcement.

Vishinsky's proposal to abolish the Collective Measures Committee also struck a chord in the Assembly, which after its Christmas holiday began discussing a resolution introduced by 11 members of the 14-nation CMC (Mexico, Burma and Egypt refused to take part). The resolution gives Assembly wide powers to vote UN into war over the heads of individual governments. Vishinsky, describing the committee report as written with "the frankness and finesse of professional cut-throats," said it would convert the Assembly into an "instrument of war." Sweden, Indonesia, Mexico voiced similar fears; the **Times** (Jan. 5) reported "considerable opposition had arisen to the committee's recommendations." At the weekend, the Big Three hastily added amendments to make the resolution more palatable.

An urgent appeal

Dear Editor:

This is an urgent appeal to all who want to unite the peoples of North, South, Central America and the Caribbean in the fight for peace.

An Inter-Continental Peace Conference of the Americas is taking place on Jan 22 to 27 in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The Conference has the backing of many prominent individuals, among them Paul Robeson, Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton, Hugh Bryson, Prof. Anatole Rapoport, Maurice Travis, Dr. Clementina Paolone and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.

Time is short, when one considers it takes at least two weeks to arrange travel from the U.S. to Rio. The U.S. Sponsoring Committee for this historic peace gathering is faced with the serious problem of raising the necessary funds to guarantee representation from the U.S. (plane fare alone amounts to $710).

We are therefore urging the readers of your paper to take emergency measures to:

1. See that your organization elects delegates.
2. Collect funds and send to:
   U.S. Sponsoring Committee of the American Inter-Continental Peace Conference.
   Daniel Groden, Secy.
   257 7th Av., N. Y. C. 1.

Dan Groden

Is U.S. in the bandit business in China?

VISHINSKY charged that the U.S. is equipping and reinforcing Chinese Nationalist troops under Gen. Li Mi which have been making raids into southern China from bases in Burma and Thailand. While the State Dept. issued denials, the press concertedly warned of China "striking next in Indo-China"—a campaign kicked off by the Alsops who reported (Jan. 2) that French Far East commander de Lattre

> . . . is now convinced the Chinese Communists are planning a major invasion of Indo China. . . . [This is] the biggest, darkest and most serious storm warning that has been run up in Washington in many months.

The French, reported the Alsops on Jan. 6, had asked direct U.S. intervention, but the Joint Chiefs were unwilling to commit U.S. troops there. Instead the Joint Chiefs were readying a warning to China that aggression in Indo-China, Korea, Burma, "or elsewhere" will bring unlimited war on China itself. **AP** from Washington (Jan. 5) said the U.S. had proposed to its allies a joint "implied ultimatum" that any "renewed aggression" will bring air and naval war on China.

SOME EVIDENCE: Numerous Far East reports tend to support the charge that the U.S. is aiding and abetting guerrilla and undercover war on China's southern border:

> • Homer Bigart, N. Y. Herald Tribune, Jan. 4, 1950, from Saigon: U.S. officials are increasingly aware that the U.S. must promote "underground warfare by arming all anti-communist groups" and exploit "techniques of terror whenever terror yields political advantage."
>
> • Sen. John J. Sparkman, U.S. UN delegate, of U.S. aid to Nationalist guerrillas in China (N. Y. Times, June 25): "Don't assume we are not doing anything. That aspect is not being neglected."
>
> • AP's Seymour Topping from Rangoon, July 27: "Burmese officials said Li's troops were re-equipped from sources in Thailand. Despite repeated denials of American officials here, there is belief among Burmese that the U.S. is aiding Li." (Burma asked the U.S. to use its influence to get Li's army disbanded, said it might bring the question to UN.)
>
> • Michael James, Times, Aug. 8, from Saigon: "The French here are of the opinion that the U.S. has played an important role through the Central Intelligence Agency in the Chinese Nationalist move out of Burma."
>
> • Oct. 21-Nov. 13: A series of conferences held in Thailand and Formosa between U.S. Army Chief of Staff Collins, Brig. Gen. Cole, head of the U.S. military mission to Thailand, Maj. Gen. Chase, head of the U.S. military mission to Chiang Kai-shek, Thai Premier Songgram, Chiang Kai-shek representatives in Thailand.
>
> • Burma announced Dec. 1 it would undertake to disarm and intern Nationalist Chinese troops operating on its border with China. Commenting on Vishinsky's charges in UN, Burmese sources in Paris (Times, Jan. 6) said they could see nothing threatening in Vishinsky's speech and that "there would be no trouble unless attempts were made to arm them [Chinese Nationalists] from outside."

Vie Nuove, Rome

The Samurai sharpens his sword.

BRITAIN, FRANCE WARY: London dispatches reported Britain unconvinced of a Chinese threat to Indo-China and angry over Washington's violation of a written (but never published) agreement made by John Foster Dulles and Herbert Morrison last July. The agreement was that Japan should shape its own relations with China—but Dulles on his recent visit to Tokyo pressured Japan to sign up with Formosa. Britain's subsequent protest, on the eve of Churchill's visit here, was dictated by fear of losing Southeast Asia markets to a Japan cut off from its normal markets in China.

French Foreign Minister Schuman's statement that France would seek peace in Indo-China, and recent Paris dispatches, suggest the French government may prefer settlement there to danger of expansion of the war in the Far East. The London **Sunday Times** reported last month that France would recognize China in an effort at an over-all **Far** Eastern settlement.

Stormy background for Winston's salvage trip

OTHER developments last week were scarcely calculated to make Churchill's visit a happy one.

Washington concluded a five-year agreement for $50,000,000 aid to India in a move seen as "a definite turning-point in relations between India and the U.S." (N.Y. **Herald Tribune, Jan. 6**).

Iran's Premier Mossadegh conferred with two World Bank representatives on a plan by which the Bank would run Iran's oil industry, inevitably giving the U.S. a commanding position.

Daily Worker, London

"We should evacuate all Persians from Persia—by force if necessary."

In Egypt, the State Dept. proposed that the British recognize King Farouk's title to the Sudan in return for Egypt's participation in the Mid East Command. British reaction was "cool."

The UN Economic Commission for Europe reported a 2,500,000-ton increase in German steel production in 1951, an 11% increase for Western Europe as a whole and a sharp drop in Britain's steel production. Reason for the drop, it said, was a shortage of scrap—West Germany has refused to meet its quota of scrap exports to Britain. The pro-U.S. London **Economist**, formerly in favor of German rearmament, last week came out against it, fearing that a change in administration in Washington might lead to re-creation of the Wehrmacht as main arm of the Atlantic Pact, which would corrupt the Pact's "defensive purposes."

THE HAT REMAINS: The U.S. press belatedly rolled out the red carpet for Churchill, who arrived to talk to Truman about these and other Anglo-U.S. frictions "with his hat on his head, not in his hand" (**Times**), even as the British Treasury prepared the public for announcement Tuesday of the biggest drop yet in Britain's dollar reserves. But the press also made clear to the aging Prime Minister that Britain's Empire had shrunk, its role was decidedly junior, its voice could no longer speak with authority. The Chicago **Sun-Times'** Frederick Kuh wrote:

> To listen to some of the Pentagon big shots one would suppose that John Bull's duty nowadays is to stand at attention, click heels, and salute as Uncle Sam snaps his orders. This is hardly Churchill's idea.

Churchill's first comments to the press emphasized "peace," suggested he might still be toying with the idea of talks with Stalin as a lever on Washington. Conceding that "things have been going none too well for our side" in the past seven years, the N.Y. **World Telegram** called on Churchill to provide the "inspirational leadership" the "free world" lacks. Walter Lippmann (**Jan. 7**) demanded he prevent the "great alliance" from degenerating into "an American empire surrounded only by satellites and dependencies." But James Reston (N.Y. **Times**, Jan. 6) felt nothing much could come from the meetings, pointing to a crucial difference between these talks and those of Roosevelt and Churchill during the war: "At that time President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill had the power of decision at home and abroad."

For a reason not stated by Reston—that Anglo-U.S. policy runs counter to the demands and needs of most of the world's people—Truman and Churchill, bucking history, in a large measure do not.

A BOOK FOR OUR TIMES

There is a good deal being said about a book called *Spartacus*, which I wrote, and which I published myself. Some of what is said is true, and some is not true. Here are the facts:

The book was written—with some gaps and diversions—over a period of a year and a half. It was finished in June of 1951, and submitted in the same month to my regular publisher, *Little, Brown and Company*. The editor in chief, Mr. Angus Cameron, read the manuscript immediately, and wrote to me:

"It is a novel we can publish with pride and with the gamble that it will do better than *The Proud and the Free*. . . . I congratulate you."

He told me a few days later that the editorial staff agreed with him, and that in his opinion, I had written my best book. He told me that *Little, Brown and Company* would publish it.

But a month later, I learned that Mr. Cameron had been forced to resign from *Little, Brown and Company*. I also learned that they would not publish *Spartacus*.

Whereupon, I submitted the manuscript of *Spartacus* to six other publishers; not to every publisher, but to six others. After all, it was not a first novel. Nineteen years ago, I had published my first; this one was my twelfth.

Three of the publishers would not even read the manuscript. Three rejected it flatly. This I considered sufficient indication of how the wind blew, and rather than spend the next five years in endless submissions, I decided to publish it myself.

I had no money with which to publish a book, but I had friends and I knew that over ten million people in America had read my books. I wrote to these friends. I asked them to buy in advance, sight unseen, a novel called *Spartacus*, which I would publish if and when enough of them sent me five dollars for a subscription to it. It was a strange offer on my part, and I got a strange response.

Over fifteen hundred people sent me five dollar bills and checks. Not only did I receive enough money to send them copies of the five dollar edition to which they subscribed, but their faith and their kindness made it possible for me to publish a cheap edition of the book for mass distribution. They also are making it possible for me to break through the curtain of silence that has been draped around my work.

The first, limited edition was printed early in December, and has been mailed out. Already, readers have written to me, telling me how they feel about the book. Their response has made me proud and humble—and aware of a great responsibility I face. Here, I am printing three letters from readers, and these three letters spell out, I think, this responsibility.

From Shirley Graham DuBois, author:

New Year's Day, 1952. Not until I had finished the last page did I hear the whistles and bells outside. Then I knew that Howard Fast's SPARTACUS had carried me into the new year on a swelling wave of realization. "Happy New Year!" I shouted. "Triumphant New Year!" What a book to send out into this year of 1952! You have only to read SPARTACUS to know why the little money changers, the white supremacists, the clay men wrapped in armor, would not print it. This book is a leaping flame, a powerful light beaming through the darkness. It is victorious life. And what do men who deal in death know of victory?

Two thousand years after the mighty Romans put down a slave revolt, Howard Fast tears away the veils of obscurity and we see Spartacus. Bit by bit the dream of Spartacus falls into place until it becomes a living, pulsing whole. For the cause of Spartacus is the cause of all the oppressed peoples of the world. Yet, even as with you and me, Spartacus must be shown the way. On the day that Draba, the black African gladiator, refused to kill at the dictates of his master—refused to kill another slave—on that day Spartacus learned how a man can die triumphantly. This too is as it should be, because we dark peoples who have toiled so long in the heat of the day, whose tears have mingled with the waters of so many rivers, have drawn strength from the blazing sun and drunk deep from the springs of life, we know that seeds falling in the good earth bring forth life. Nor are we fooled as to the why of Spartacus. They say the Romans had to cut the gladiator down because he used violence. But Jesus called the people together in brotherhood and Romans crucified him. And in the year 1951, Harry Moore taught Negro children about Jesus and Thomas Jefferson, and they blew him to pieces. These three they tried to kill. But after reading SPARTACUS, we are reminded that life is victorious.

Dear Howard:

I've just finished SPARTACUS. It's a terrific book, the best you've done, in my opinion. A true symbol of the world toiler now and in all past times. All the while I read it I kept seeing contemporary figures, modern Ciceros, ward heelers in Washington, the cities of today and the servile revolt of the present period now on a world scale.

I feel that this is the book of yours most durable and with most universal appeal because it can be read anywhere and fit any of the countries of the epoch of imperialism.

You gave me the feeling you had poured into this one all the understanding you've painfully acquired over the years of the meaning of labor, of slavery, of struggle, the deepmost psychology of the toiler in all past times.

Also I think you've done a radiant job of using the materials that have come down to us on Spartacus. Of using the actual materials and actual characters of the period and making them understandable in terms of both then and now. Your handling of Negro and Jewish and Nordic white symbolization was beautifully done, pertinent not only for the American scene but having world-wide color-national connotations.

This was a book I chewed up clause by clause, like a meal. It has to be read that way to get its full historic and contemporary meaning.

I feel sure that the world's progressives will, with time, regard this story as the one most symbolical of the long struggle of labor. It has beauty, mature style, and hits the philosophic bull's-eye of life itself.

I would take heart, if I were you, in the knowledge of having done an enduring and highly symbolical work of art, and the way in which you have struck out, in publishing SPARTACUS yourself, is an act itself of a literary Spartacus. May I express my admiration.

Sincerely,

Earl Conrad

A letter from Howard Selsam to a friend:

I am just finishing Howard Fast's Spartacus. It is immense and I believe it is the best thing he ever did. The writing is all good and in several parts simply magnificent—most notably the description of the Nubian mines in the upper Egyptian desert. There are things I would like to blue-pencil, but they are relatively trivial. Historically, it is on a far higher level than My Glorious Brothers. *There he was dealing with a small incident in the march of civilization and blowing it up beyond all measure. Here he is in the main stream. The picture he paints is so much deeper than in the other book, and I feel pretty confident that any historical liberties or errors it might contain are relatively trivial and totally unimportant. What he does best of all is to show the downfall of ancient slavery is guarteed through its own internal contradictions—apart from any questions of morality or justice—and the slaves, who represent the side of morality and justice, will necessarily keep on revolting, will win allies, and that the whole old social edifice will fall. There is terrific moral passion on his part, but it has a very different foundation from that of* The Last Frontier *or* My Glorious Brothers. *Further, Fast was never so suave and sophisticated as in his treatment of the Roman nobility, politicos, etc., while never losing sight for a moment of the terrific corruption and brutality on which their society rests. Well, I could write on this for pages, but you must read the book and, I think, help to promote it. It is Fast's best book, is a superb portrayal of Roman slavery, and is the finest writing to be found in the English language today. What more could I say?*

Now I want you to read this book. I feel that it must be read. It must not be consigned — as was hoped by those who hate what I write and what I am — to silence and obscurity. I have gone to press with a cheap edition. It will be published February 1, and also in February, Liberty Book Club will use SPARTACUS as a selection.

Meanwhile, I am making a special pre-publication offer to GUARDIAN readers. I am offering the book to you for two and a half dollars. I am doing this to get it read, to reach people, to let people know that there is such a book as this. Write to me at Box 171, Planetarium Station, New York 24, New York. Put $2.50 in cash, money order, or check in an envelope, and I will send you the book before February 1. If the fifty cents in cash presents problems, you can use stamps for that amount.

HOWARD FAST: Box 171, Planetarium Station, New York 24, N.Y.

IS "COMMUNISM" TO BE A HANGING OFFENSE IN AMERICA?

Rosenberg appeals for reversal go before the court

By William A. Reuben
GUARDIAN special reporter

AS THIS ISSUE of the GUARDIAN goes to press, the appeals of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg for reversal of their convictions and death sentences on charges of atomic spying are before the January term of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New York.

The appeal brief was filed with the court Nov. 5 by defense attorney Emanuel H. Bloch (GUARDIAN, Nov. 7). By last week the defense had not received a copy of the government's reply brief. Also before the same court was the appeal of Morton Sobell, convicted with the Rosenbergs as an accomplice—without a single overt act being charged against him—and sentenced to 30 years in prison.

The convictions of all three were obtained entirely on the testimony of persons over whom the government held the threat of imprisonment and even death for espionage. There was no corroboration of any of the incrimination intended by this testimony.

A RED IS A SPY IS A RED: Instead, prosecution and court joined in a deliberate process of depicting the young New York parents as communists and in underscoring to the jury the contention that all communists are **per se** spies for the Soviet Union. The appeal brief states in this regard:

> From the very outset of the trial and in his opening statement, the U. S. District Attorney injected into the case and foisted upon the jury the notion that the primary allegiance of the defendants was to "communism, both national and international," and that this "dedication" to the "cause of Communism" was their motive for entering into a conspiracy "to deliver to the Soviet Union the information and weapons which the Soviet Union could use to destroy us."
>
> . . . The court . . . permitted the prosecution, throughout the trial, to insinuate constantly before the jury some facet of the volatile and impressing question of communism.

Thus the issue before the justices of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in the Rosenberg case is whether the accusation of communism is to become a hanging offense in America.

OPERATION HEARST: The Hearst newspapers, which are closer to the inner workings of Justice Dept. than any of the rest of the U. S. press, had this to say when the death sentence was handed down:

> The importance of the trial cannot be minimized. Its findings disclosed in shuddering detail the Red cancer in the American body politic—a cancer which the Government is now forced to obliterate in self-defense.
>
> The sentences . . . indicate the scalpel which prosecutors henceforth can be expected to use in that operation.

Szpilki, Warsaw

THE SPIRIT OF THE COLD WAR

Westbrook Pegler followed this up with a column proposing that all communists be rounded up and shot without trial. Now the House Committee on Un-American Activities is demanding of Congress new legislation permitting death sentences for peacetime espionage.

Thus, nearly a year ago the Hearst press revealed the issue now before the Appeals court: whether for political purposes a government may be permitted by the courts to arraign its citizens on manufactured evidence, convict them "by the atmosphere" (as Felix Frankfurter said of the convictions of Sacco and Vanzetti); and sentence them to death as warnings (or "tokens," as the Romans said it) of the penalty for opposing the policies of the government in power.

AN OLD GAME: In this respect, the brief submitted in behalf of co-defendant Morton Sobell makes the following statement before arguing the details of the case:

> The increased responsibility for insuring a fair trial arises not alone because of the difficulty of securing dispassionate consideration in the presence of . . . hysteria. Of sometimes greater significance is the danger that the espionage prosecution may be employed in its familiar historical and political role. From time immemorial that role has not infrequently been—and remains today, where we can see the mote in our neighbor's eye—to divert public opinion from governmental inadequacy or error, or what is worse and yet may be the same thing, as an incendiary device incidental to foreign policy.
>
> It is easy to see in the past, or in another country, what we cannot recognize in our own place and time.

POLITICAL TOKENS: The Rosenbergs were the only "token" material within easy reach of the alleged atomic spy plot in which the government seeks to implicate them. The confessed participants in the alleged plot were all in it for mercenary, not political, reasons. The Rosenbergs happened to be in-laws of the confessed spy, David Greenglass. Unlike Greenglass, they were "political"; they discussed the merits of capitalism and socialism; Julius Rosenberg advocated a second front in World War II; Ethel collected funds to "Save a Spanish Republican Child" and once signed a petition to nominate a Communist (who was elected) for N. Y. City Council. Furthermore Julius had been separated from a government job on allegations of communism, which he denied.

When Julius's college math notes of 13 years earlier turned up in possession of his brother-in-law David Greenglass, even a Junior G-man could scent the possibilities.

REFUSAL TO LIE—30 YEARS: The connection of Morton Sobell with any alleged spy plot is even more impossibly remote. His name came up in the FBI's checkup on Rosenberg's college classmates. He was an alleged left-winger. His incriminating error was that he had taken his family to Mexico. He and his wife and children were simply kidnaped from the Mexico City flat where they lived with no attempt at concealment. He was imprisoned on a bench warrant and eventually included in a revised indictment, although his name had not occurred in any version of the case obtained earlier from the witness who eventually accused him.

Sobell had the opportunity to join the government's group of suborned witnesses, but refused. As a result he too became a defendant, ending up with a 30-year sentence even though at one juncture in the trial the judge himself implied that Sobell had no connection with the alleged spy plot.

Summing up the appeal in the Rosenberg brief, attorney Bloch states:

> The death sentence in this case . . . is punishment for political nonconformity. It has the features of a Dachau, which the patina of judicial fiat cannot efface. In its import, it is notice that the price of political apostasy can be a man's life. The sentence here is a political bludgeon.

This is the real issue before the appeals court.

FREEDOMS

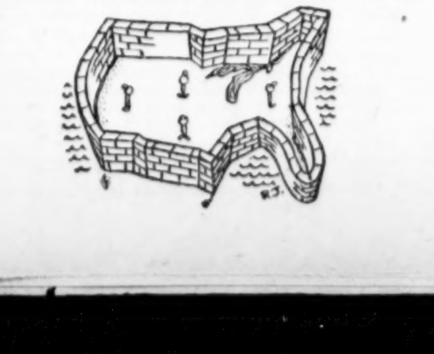
McGrath setting up concentration camps

REPORTS GREW over the weekend that Atty. Gen. McGrath, in the midst of mounting government scandals, would soon leave the Cabinet. The President had no comment. McGrath denied it. Other sources suggested he might stay in office long enough to complete a project he is now at work on—construction of concentration camps for "subversives" in event of an "internal security emergency."

From Washington came reports that three such camps, with a combined capacity of 3,000, are already being readied by federal prison labor. One is a former military airport at Wickenburg, Ariz. The others are World War II prisoner of war camps at Florence, Ariz., and El Reno, Okla. Surveys are reportedly being made at other sites, including Tule Lake, Calif., where 20,000 West Coast Japanese were held during the war.

The camps are being prepared under a McCarran Act provision that in the event of an invasion, a declaration of war, or an insurretion in support of a foreign enemy, the attorney general shall detain

> . . . each person as to whom there is reasonable ground to believe that such person probably will engage in, or probably will conspire with others to engage in acts of espionage or of sabotage.



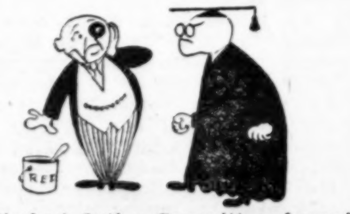
EDUCATION

'Embarrassing' prof. out; Minn. U. gets $$

TO some members of Minnesota's Republican-dominated Legislature Dr. Forrest O. Wiggins, University of Minn. philosophy instructor, was an "embarrassment." He is not only the first Negro to be appointed to the faculty of a state university (1946), but publicly on record as favoring state ownership of the means of production. Shortly after the Legislature reduced the university's appropriation, the administration announced Dr. Wiggins would not be reappointed (GUARDIAN, Jan. 2). A week ago, with interesting timing, the university received a grant of $102,000 from the U. S. Navy's Human Relations and Morale Branch to finance four studies of individual and group behavior.

The Navy wants to find out the effect on public morals of certain kinds of information, or the lack of it, in wartime; whether a street gang whose members have common interests is more efficient than a military unit whose members have been assigned; what effect language has on human behavior; and, finally, how to maintain unity among Atlantic Pact nations.

MUM'S THE WORD: Meanwhile a student group charged that the administration refused to name specific reasons for Dr. Wiggins' dismissal. Dr. Wiggins himself has charged the firing is political; an accusation of incompetence was completely refuted by his department head, all his department colleagues, and a group of 226 students polled on their teachers' merits.



A Student Action Committee, formed to fight the ouster, collected 2,300 names on a protest petition during four days of examinations.

Hordelet

A year ago when the U.N. forces were sent reeling down the Korean peninsula, the number of Chinese attacking them, in estimates current at the time, soared to the remarkable figure of 600,000. Actually there was no such horde. The attack was made by no more than 150,000 Chinese. Commanded by Gen. Lin Piao, it was a carefully thought-out attack which took full advantage of General MacArthur's deployment of troops, which numbered 324,,000, including 100,000 Roks (South Korean troops).

LIFE, Dec. 31. 1950

Puerto Rico: Stars and Stripes wave over rule of terror and mass hunger

GUARDIAN associate editor Elmer Bendiner, who spent several months in Latin America last year, returned with this message about the "continental army of progressives" who are so little acquainted with one another: "It's time for North America to learn about the Americas" (GUARDIAN, Nov. 21, 1951). A series of articles to appear at intervals in these pages, designed to help "break down the wall of ignorance about our southern neighbors," continues with this summary of the situation in the U. S. dependency Puerto Rico.

By Elmer Bendiner

ON Nov. 1, 1950, two Puerto Ricans opened fire with automatic pistols at the gates of Blair House. The shooting woke the President from his nap.

Spotlighted briefly, Puerto Rico has settled back into the old obscurity hiding a rule of terror in which 200 political prisoners are held without trial—of mass hunger, unemployment and disease under the U. S. flag.

For 53 years the U. S. has held Puerto Rico. In 1898, when Theodore Roosevelt said President McKinley had "no more backbone than a chocolate eclair," the President—taunted by the war party and the Hearst press—suppressed the news that Spain had already ceded to all U. S. demands, and led the country into war. Six months of war with decrepit Spain, and payment of $20,000,000, bought the U. S. its first overseas empire: the Phillipines and Guam in the Pacific, Cuba and Puerto Rico in the Caribbean. The price was cheap.

THE NATURE OF THINGS: Charles and Mary Beard in their **Rise of American Civilization** wrote:

> **The annexation of Puerto Rico and the absorption of Cuba . . had been merely a prelude to the transformation of the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean into an island sea of the United States. In the nature of things, to use the language of diplomacy, the region was a part of the American Empire.**

There have been formal changes of status but Puerto Rico has remained a keystone of the empire. For Latin Americans, Negro Americans, Indian Americans, it has been a showcase and an object-lesson of U. S. rule.

After 53 years 86% of Puerto Rican families earn less than $295 a year, pay prices slightly higher than in the U. S. Unemployment is chronic. In August, 1950, the war boom year, 120,000 (15.6% of the total working force) were jobless. If the U. S. were hit by the same percentage there would be 10,000,000 jobless.

One-third are illiterate. There are schools for only half the children and until recently they were taught only in English, though Spanish is the people's language.

THE FREIGHT & THE LOAD: The country does not raise enough food to feed its people, though its soil is among the richest in the hemisphere. Almost all manufactured goods must come from the U. S. For the U. S. it is a cornered market, a cheap source of sugar, a chance for profitable investment, a naval base.

Its people have never been represented in the U. S. Congress wnich rules them. A Puerto Rican representative sits in the House but has no vote. The Puerto Ricans, nominally U. S. citizens, pay the freight but get few of the rights of citizenship. "Taxation without representation is tyranny"—the cry of the U. S. revolution—is a soft understatement by Puerto Ricans in revolt against U. S. rule.

Carefully-selected U. S. laws apply to the island. For example, the Taft-Hartley Law and a more stringent version

PUERTO RICANS OFF TO WORK MICHIGAN SUGAR BEET FIELDS
Their own country has been turned into sugar, their people go hungry

75c minimum wage law does not apply.

THE DRAGNET: In Washington's empire, its witch-hunt becomes a grim terror. Puerto Rico's 200 political prisoners are held in jail without trial more than a year after the desperate Nationalist uprising of 1950, when 3,000 were arrested. Bail ranges from $25,000 to $125,000. Their families go hungry and homeless. (The Comite Pro Libertades Civiles, Box 8883, Fernandez Juncos Sta., Santurce, P.R., has appealed for funds to help them.)

Caught in the 1950 dragnet were Independistas (liberals who favor independence), Socialists, Communists, labor leaders, peacemakers. The island's Smith Act, "Gag Law 53," was rushed through its congress making any leaflet, any petition, any magazine article illegal if it could be construed as incitement to "overthrow by force and violence."

HIGH COST OF THINKING: For example Deusdedit Marrero, 27, had been arrested twice previously for distributing the Stockholm Peace petition. After the uprising he was held for 60 days without bail, then for eight more months on $25,000 bail before trial. His 17-year-old wife, pregnant, committed suicide.

Under "Gag Law 53" he was charged with: twice applauding communist speakers, distributing a communist pamphlet, teaching children to sing a song called communist (actually a Puerto Rican independence song), maintaining in an eavesdropped private conversation that Soviet socialism was preferable to U. S. capitalism, urging picketing of the Aqueduct Office to protest high water rates, remarking to fellow Health Dept. employes on the day of the uprising that that day made him proud to be a Puerto Rican.

The jury freely admitted that if they would presume him guilty. The 20 witnesses were all police agents. Pablo Garcia, one of Marrero's defense attorneys, asked the court:

> **"Is it a crime to fight today against what the North American patriots fought in 1776?"**

The verdict was guilty; the sentence, thought Marrero a communist they of the Smith Act are enforced but the six to 12 years. While Marrero's lawyers appeal, Marrero stays in Arecibo prison.

THE GUNS REMAIN: All this takes place under the regime of Puerto Rico's first native governor, the one-time Socialist Greenwich village poet Luis Munoz Marin. Up to 1948 governors had been appointed directly from Washington. In that year Puerto Ricans elected their own executive, a man whose every decision would be subject to Washington's veto.

In office, the ex-Socialist crusader for independence declared the word "colonialism" was "obsolete," and that "independence was not the issue." As he spoke, Puerto Rico was already a fully-garrisoned bastion of the Truman Doctrine, occupied by the U. S. Army, Navy and Air Force. Four U. S. sugar companies completely controlled the island's economy, owned almost a third of the best arable land which they will not allow to be turned to other products though Puerto Ricans suffer chronic hunger.

Morgan interests control three of the companies, have a hand in the fourth which is run by the Boston Group, New England financiers who also control the United Fruit Co. Each year the sugar trust takes out one-third of the island's income. Sugar workers average 37c an hour, work only half the year. Under U. S. laws only 15% of Puerto Rican sugar can be refined on the islands; the rest must go to the U. S., involving an estimated loss to the island of $30,000,000 annually.

SUGARED RUIN: Munoz Marin had three answers to his country's problems: industrialization, a new constitution providing "union with the U. S.," and for unemployment, hunger and poverty—birth control.

Industrialization is a highroad to independence for a colonial country. As carried out under U. S. rule and Munoz Marin's lieutenancy, this is the picture:

- Since 1942 the island's government has spent $200,000,000 and sponsored 125 new companies, most of which have been sold to U. S. capital with tax-free provisions.
- In eight years' time these companies have created 8,691 new jobs for Puerto Ricans—almost exactly the number added in one year to the working force. In the decade 1940-1950, 350 other companies closed down.
- The island's economy has actually fallen off disastrously. Coffee production fell from 44,000,000 lbs. in 1921 to 13,000,000 lbs. in 1946; cigars, from 321,000,000 in 1920 to 67,000,000 in 1950; rum and other liquors, from 12,000,000 gallons in 1944 to 4,700,000 in 1950.
- In the first two years of Munoz Marin's regime those having more than 30 hours of work a week fell from 440,000 to 432,000. Unemployment and emigration to the ghettos in New York and substandard-wage jobs in U. S. agriculture reached an all-time high.

The country has been turned into sugar, producing a steady 1,100,000 tons a year for the U. S.

"TOO MANY PEOPLE": Munoz Marin's political solution, the constitution, was passed last year according to U. S. Asst. Secy. of State Edward G. Miller,

> **. . . so that formal consent of the Puerto Ricans may be given to their present relationship to the U. S.**

The constitution expressly preserves the U. S. veto for all economic measures, for everything that might touch on the island's relations to the U. S. The mild measures of local autonomy it grants are subject to retraction without notice. In pleading for the new constitution Munoz Marin told the U. S. Congress:

> **"You know, of course, that if the people of Puerto Rico should go crazy Congress (U. S.) can always get around and legislate again."**

A prime problem for U. S. rulers and for Munoz Marin is "too many Puerto Ricans." Birth-control information has been legalized, but is used by politicos to camouflage the island's real problems which Munoz Marin's party blames on the birth rate rather than on U. S. domination. With real independence, trading on equal terms, varying its crops, building its own refineries and industries, Puerto Rico could support its population.

Opposition politicos, some close to the Church, some in the Socialist Party, denounce the government for permitting birth control at all.

HELP THE RESISTANCE: To all this there is a Puerto Rican resistance. It is divided. It either flares in desperate

> BIG STRIDES have been made during the last ten years in our fight to overcome poverty, disease and hunger. The ten years ahead should witness still greater
>
> In trying to achieve this end, we have created a new climate for private enterprise, in which business and Government work hand to hand. Businessmen willing to join us in this exciting enterprise of a new creative dimension are certainly welcome!

GOV. LUIS MUNOZ MARIN
in a N.Y. Times ad, Jan. 4

demonstrations like the shooting at the White House and the uprising of 1950, or shows itself more subtly.

In 1948 more than 100,000 Puerto Ricans out of 700,000 voted for the Independista ticket. Even the middle-road Statehood Party has called for political amnesty and joined the peace movement in denouncing the Korean War, pointing out that Korea, too, has been a colony. The Nationalist and Communist parties are admittedly growing, but no one knows their real strength.

The working class is split six ways, much of it still loyal to Munoz Marin's Partido Popular. Supporting Munoz completely are CIO and AFL unions with a total membership of close to 100,000. Progressive and middle-road unions (including some under Peron's influence which have joined the call for amnesty to political prisoners) number about 9,000. The working force—most of it unorganized—totals 766,000.

The GUARDIAN asked Pablo Garcia, one of Marrero's attorneys, where U. S. progressives fit into this picture of a U. S. tyranny. Here summed up is his answer:

> **The measure of U. S. progressives is their solidarity with Puerto Ricans whether in Harlem or at home, and with the Negro fight for freedom which they regard as close to their own. That solidarity can be shown in aid to the island's political prisoners, in protest, in the full realization that Puerto Rican freedom is necessary to U. S. freedom.**

"PROUD OF ITS ROLE . . . IN PUERTO RICO'S ECONOMY"
Said this Bull Lines' ad in N.Y. Times business review, Jan. 4

PARENTS!

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Joseph John Hanson, Director of Family Life, Board of Education and Publication of a Northern Religious Group: "An intelligent and forthright treatment of sex education . . . written in a style that can be read easily, and the subject matter is handled with considerable finesse. It is our intention to recommend this book to all parents!"

New York Herald Tribune: 'Clever new sort of physiology for boys and girls . . . with excellent, simple diagrams of our insides . . . Most parents will welcome heartily the final chapter, 'Male and Female!' "

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LABOR

Steel strike put off; nobody surprised

ONLY the membership can decide to call off the strike, Philip Murray, pres. of CIO and the CIO United Steelworkers, had warned two weeks ago.

Last week the special steelworkers' convention gathered in Atlantic City but the strike had in effect been called off before they arrived. Murray had ordered the men to keep the mills rolling past the New Year's Day deadline without a contract. President Truman's appeal to patriotism (with the hidden threat of Taft-Hartley) was a safe bet to convince Murray; the smooth machinery of the union could—and did—engineer a strike postponement.

The steelworkers were plainly dissatisfied. William Maihofer, pres. of the big Inland Steel Local 1010, said as he called off the strike: "We can't fight both the international and the company." Herman Slossfurth, delegate of Local 2227, Cleveland, said at the convention last week:

> **"I had a hell of a time explaining to our members last Sunday why we don't shut down the plant. Five years have passed. But in all those five years we have done nothing to the basic contract."**

THE MAN WHO SAID NO: U.S. Steel pres. Benjamin Fairless declined Murray's invitation to talk to the delegates and "participate in the discussion," on the ground that the unionists' minds were already made up.

Murray had in fact made them up. Even before the delegates convened he had an appointment for Monday with the Wage Stabilization Board to set in motion the no-strike machinery.

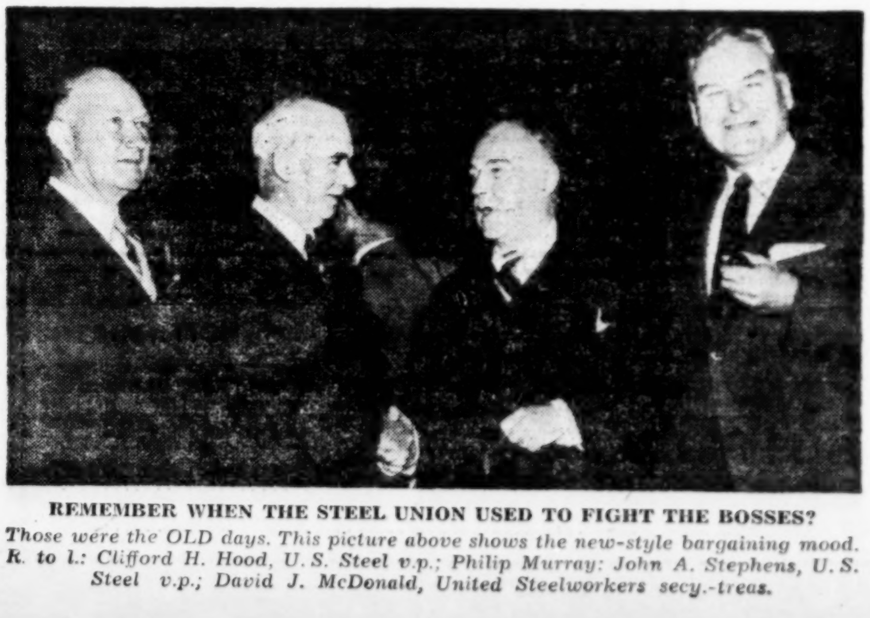
The floor talk was vigorous, the vote a formality. Only one delegate voted against a 45-day cooling-off period and turning the question of a wage-raise and working conditions over to the Wage Stabilization Board; he said his local had instructed him to vote down any strike postponement. The resolution postponing strike action said the union's responsibilities

> **. . . include the patriotic duty to protect our country and its institutions. Every citizen and every organization must give most careful consideration to any request made in the name of national interest by the President of the United States.**

China: no bishops!

Former deputy Yves Farge, pres. of the French Natl. Peace Council, reports in the Paris **Action** (Dec. 13) meeting this month in a Moscow hotel lobby a delegation of economists just arrived from China, one of whom said:

"For the first time our trains arrive punctually; for the first time there has been no famine; for the first time we have a favorable balance of trade. Of course we don't have any roads, but then we don't have any bishops or social democrats."



REMEMBER WHEN THE STEEL UNION USED TO FIGHT THE BOSSES?
Those were the OLD days. This picture above shows the new-style bargaining mood. R. to l.: Clifford H. Hood, U.S. Steel v.p.; Philip Murray: John A. Stephens, U.S. Steel v.p.; David J. McDonald, United Steelworkers secy.-treas.

THERE'S A NEW SLOGAN ROUND THE WORLD:

'Americans, go home!'

LAST July 25 officers of the French Air Force detachment at Martinieries, France, solemnly lowered their flag. Before the detachment marched away the commander ordered the flagpole cut down so that no other flag would rise in its place.

In the nearby towns of Deols and Chateauroux the soldiers sang: "It is only **au revoir.**" The garrison assembled before the monument to the French dead for a moment of silence, then chorused: "Americans, go home."

The U.S. Air Force had taken over another base.

Scrawled in bright paint on highways, walls, trains throughout Europe and the Middle East are these messages: "Via gli Americani"; "Americains chez eux"; "Ohne uns"; "U.S. Go Home."

The GI overseas finds himself regarded not as an ally or savior, but as part of an occupation army that has aroused hatred as did the other army that overran Western Europe less than ten years ago. A GI flirted with a girl in the town of Berichon. She told him loud enough to be heard by passers-by: "I don't want my head shaved." It recalled the punishment given girls who went with the Nazis during the war.

MASTERS TO BEGGARS: Resistance stems from all classes and parties. M Jean Constant, speaking for the Assn. of Machine Industries of France, wrote to Marshall Plan administrator Paul Hoffman:

> **You have flooded us with locomotives we do not need. You have submerged us with rolling stock. Today our own industry gets no orders. It must reduce the working hours and fire its personnel.**

M. L. Gingembre, in the name of the Confedn. of Small and Middle Businessmen, wrote to Marshall Plan administrator John M. Carmody:

> **You seem to believe that France is a country of beggars, that we are tied to you by some subsidies which give you the right to talk as master.**

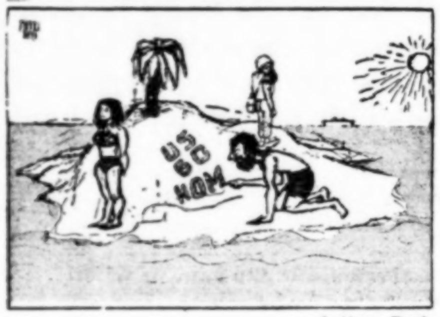
While businessmen chafe, epidemics of refusal to unload U.S. munitions ships recur and grow among French dockers.

ONE EXCITING MONTH: The resistance finds many targets: the obvious preparations for war; U.S. taking over factories (in some cases nullifying union contracts); the destruction of farms to make air fields; the conduct of GI occupiers; the flooding of continents with U.S. movies, comics, novels.

The French left-wing monthly **Democratie Nouvelle** (New Democracy), compiling the story in a special "Go Home" issue, listed local news reports of the new occupation of France during one month (Aug.-Sept., 1951):

> **On the Bordeaux-Bayonne road six U.S. soldiers fire at passing car . . . At Blaye a U.S. army truck runs down, fatally injures 22-year-old man . . . A U.S. army convoy at top speed runs down old man near Saint-Abin, fracturing his skull . . . A U.S. marine is caught robbing a businessman at Villefranche-sur-mer . . . At the American Legion Club in Paris an American breaks glasses, chairs; other Americans beat off police who try to interfere . . . Two U.S. officers force a 19-year-old girl into a jeep, drive into a ditch; the girl dies . . . At Barsac a crowd saves girls from several drunken GIs . . . Near Verdun MP's attack two young people putting up Communist Party stickers, drag one off to the police . . . Three other fatal instances of GI driving.**

BRITAIN & ITALY: From England, where there are 20,000 U.S. fliers and 5,000 other troops, correspondent Derek Kartun reports:



Action, Paris

> **Scarcely a week passes without a case of rape, assault, using a place for immoral purposes and other crimes in which are involved troops of the American occupation.**

When Adm. Carney came to Naples for U.S. naval maneuvers last summer the walls of the port were covered with the word "Pace" (Peace). When the U.S. announced plans for simulated landings on Sicily and Sardinia, protests were so great the plans were called off "for psychological reasons." Gen. Eisenhower arrived at Carney's headquarters incognito.

When the U.S. fleet dropped anchor at Augusta, Sicily and marines came ashore, police had to be rushed to the town to guard them. Police canceled the customary celebration which commemorates the four days in Sept., 1943 when the townspeople chased out the Germans.

GERMANY: In West Germany there are 20,000 U.S. troops with 4,000-5,000 more arriving monthly. They have requisitioned 72,662 apartments and 41,659 houses, built 8,300 more for U.S. use. Correspondent Rosa Michel wrote for the **Go Home** issue:

> **The week-ends are the greatest terror for everybody, men, women, young and old. Rapes, murders, scandals, cafe brawls, trouble on the roads, street robberies in broad daylight, violation by force of private homes, various acts of banditry, gangsterism flourish here.**

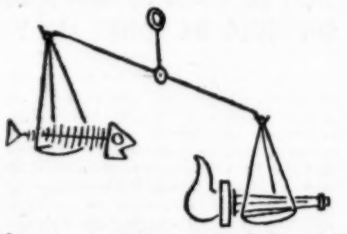
U.S. movies flood Europe. In one week last October, seven films opened in Paris, all U.S. At Strasbourg in three months last spring theaters had 243 showing of U.S. films, 83 of French. Several French studios have been forced to close down, although French films remain more popular in terms of the number of movie-goers who see them.

"TRY, MR. SMITH": French correspondent Charles Favrel, who covered the Korean war for the "middle-road" Paris **Le Monde,** spoke for millions in the U.S.-occupied lands when he wrote a **Letter To Mister Smith** in the Catholic paper **Esprit.** Here are excerpts:

> **You are not human, Americans, and that is the sad reproach which the average Frenchman makes to you. You are not human because you have conducted this war in Korea, from which you have not extricated yourselves, with a ferocity, a perverseness, a cold insensibility which has shocked and stupefied the world. . . .**
>
> **Mister Smith, dear Mister Smith, reading your newspapers frightens us when we see developing a war psychosis under the impulse of a narrow racism which has succeeded in dazzling your President, a racism which seems to us to smack a little too much of gangsters, tricksters, scandals, drunks and noisy star performers. . . .**
>
> **For one year you have given the world the dismal spectacle of an inhuman nation, remorselessly seeking to avenge a humiliating wound to self-pride. I say nation advisedly, Mister Smith, for your government is not alone responsible. It has moved in the direction pointed by exasperated public opinion expressing its sentiment in meetings, newspapers and petitions. And that opinion has decided on the extermination of a people capable of having put to flight the GI's. . . .**
>
> **The drama of our age is the conflict of two beliefs which try their strength and provoke each other. Your drama is the crisis of a mad dog trying to bite to sharpen his teeth. Age will give you the wisdom, experience and modesty you lack. Your pilots will no longer regard lesser worlds with the indifferent eye of the stratospheric bombardier.**
>
> **In dwelling at length . . . on the inhuman aspects of American conduct I have meant to explain to you, Mr. Smith, why you represent in our eyes the No. 1 danger. The other danger, that of the East, seems to us infinitely more distant, easier to avert. . . .**
>
> **It is essential, Mr. Smith, that you understand all this and that you make others around you understand it. For you are listened to when we are not. . . . A word, a gesture, and all can change, can become bright. It is enough to want it.**
>
> **Try, Mr. Smith; a great work awaits you. You are the last chance of peace.**

THE LAW

Sacher is disbarred for 'excessive zeal'



THE CANONS of Professional Ethics require of all lawyers

> **. . . entire devotion to the interest of the client, warm zeal in the maintenance and defense of his rights. . . . No fear of judicial disfavor or public unpopularity should restrain him from the full discharge of his duty.**

Last week Harry Sacher, one of five attorneys who defended the 11 leaders of the Communist Party against Smith Act charges in 1949, was permanently disbarred from federal practice in the New York southern district; Federal Judge Carroll Hinks found him guilty of an "excess of zeal in representing his client." Abraham J. Isserman, another of the five, was suspended from practice for two years. The charges were brought against the two by the Bar of the City of New York and the N.Y. County Lawyers Assn.

Because of the treatment accorded the five defense attorneys in the 1949 Smith Act trial (all were declared guilty of contempt and given jail sentences which are now being appealed) current Smith Act victims have found it almost impossible to obtain adequate counsel. Last week it was announced that only two lawyers, Frank Serri and John T. McTernan of Los Angeles, would be on hand to defend 15 of 17 defendants in New York. Two, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Pettis Perry, will defend themselves. A trial date was to be set next Friday.

A New York rally to protest the indictments and to repeal the Smith Act drew an overflow audience of 5,000 last Friday night.

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Maxim Litvinov—fighter for peace

FORMER Soviet Foreign Minister Maxim Litvinov, in youth a revolutionary in Lenin's circle and later one of the world's most faithful and honored fighters for peaceful co-existence of socialism and democratic capitalism, died last week at 75 after a long illness. Three deputy foreign ministers including Andrei Gromyko were among pallbearers at the state funeral in Moscow. He is survived by a son and daughter and by his wife, the former Ivy Low, British-born writer and editor of standard Russian-English dictionaries published in the U.S.S.R.

LITVINOV

PEACE IS INDIVISIBLE: Placed in charge of Russia's relations with Europe in 1918 by Lenin, Litvinov fought to break the allied *cordon sanitaire*, the post-World War I containment policy, and fought untiringly for disarmament. He coined the famous phrase "Peace is indivisible" in a note Feb. 25, 1920, to the Allies, who were then busy concluding peace with their former enemies in order to make war on their former ally, Russia.

From his appointment as Foreign Minister in 1930 until his obituaries last week, Litvinov was perhaps second only to Stalin as recipient of the greatest honor the U.S. press can pay a Russian: systematic lies. Throughout the '30's his was the voice through which the U.S.S.R. made its continuous pleas and proposals for constructive Soviet-Western accords to avert the rising fascist menace. When the West's unflagging support of Hitler, Mussolini and Japanese militarism imminently endangered Soviet security in 1939, Litvinov's resignation was an acknowledgment by him and by the Soviet government of the temporary failure of the peace policy whose spokesman he had been. But Hitler's failure to line up the whole capitalist world behind his crusade against the U.S.S.R. was Litvinov's and the Soviet Union's achievement. Litvinov himself said (Dec. 29, 1933) of American recognition of the U.S.S.R. in 1933: "Germany has lost the Second World War."

His proposals had been so distorted from the outset that few among the Western general public ever knew what they were. When he resigned, the West was told he had been fired in disgrace; later he was frequently reported "purged," "liquidated" and sent to "slave labor camps," when in fact he was living comfortably near Moscow and was an elected delegate in the Supreme Soviet (parliament). Last week's reports of his death repeated most of the old inventions.

A FEW FACTS: To set the record straight, Litvinov's friend and biographer Arthur Upham Pope, chancellor of the Asia Institute in New York, wrote a letter to the N.Y. **Times** pointing out:

- **That Litvinov was retired as Foreign Minister in 1939 at his own suggestion after "repeated conferences with Molotov and Stalin [in which he] urged that he be replaced. . . . Litvinov himself proposed Molotov [as successor]."**
- **That on Dec. 5, 1941, at an official reception in Honolulu en route to take up the Soviet ambassadorship in Washington, Litvinov repeated in the presence of Gen. Short and Adm. Kimmel what he had already said in Manila: "The Japanese will attack Pearl Harbor at any moment now." An American said: "They would be fools to attack us now." Litvinov replied: "They would be fools, but they will attack."**
- **That Stalin appointed Litvinov to represent the U.S.S.R. at UN's founding session at San Francisco; Litvinov, though suffering from a bad heart condition, was ready to go; but Molotov was substituted in response to a telegram from President Truman urging that the highest-ranking official be sent.**

This information, Pope wrote, came to him from Litvinov personally when he visited him in the Soviet Union in 1945.

In small, belated restitution for some of the damage done by its past (unacknowledged) distortions, the **Times** printed Pope's letter Jan. 6.

Give This Paper To A Friend Keep It Moving!

On Sunday, Dec. 23, 1,500 persons (1,000 were turned away) came to the Hotel Diplomat in New York to honor in death J. Edward Bromberg, brilliant actor and American patriot, who died in London last month—victim of the witch-hunt and the blacklist. Among the speakers were Clifford Odets, Morris Carnovsky, Lee Grant, Frank Silvera, Paul Mann, Jules Dassin, Abraham Polonsky, Martin Popper, Philip Evergood and Annette Rubinstein. Also read at the memorial evening was a poem written by Conrad Joseph Bromberg, a son, 20 years old and an actor too. The poem appears below.

ON THE DEATH OF MY FATHER, J. EDWARD BROMBERG

My father died;
People loved him,
And so do I still,
And so do they.

He died away from home,
Alone—
Like a soldier in battle,
With nothing but love
To ease his final sighs,
And lasting comfort of knowing
That warm, good people
Take his place.

I am crying
With the knowledge
Of why he died.

He died of wounds.

Wounds of the heart,
Inflicted in a hearing-room
Wounds of rushing arteries,
Inflicted by newspaper columns
Pointed like bullets.

Wounds of the hands,
Which are made to greet people,
But which were burned
When past friends renounced
Them and their meaning.

Wounds of the talent
Which was padlocked in
His body and not permitted
To flow out into the healthy
Hearts of good people.

I know who killed my father—
My mother knows too well in her body
Who killed him—
My sister knows in her eyes
Who killed him—
And my young beautiful brother
Will know in his strong arms
Who killed his father.

Together—all of us—
We will remember.
And so remembering,
Are obliged in the depths of love
To fight to correct it.

—**Conrad Joseph Bromberg**

U.S. exacts tribute from Peruvian birds

PERUVIANS own little of Peru except guano, bird droppings highly valued as fertilizer and a prized government monopoly. Last week word came from a GUARDIAN correspondent in Lima that U.S. big business, having most of the copper and oil, was moving in on the birds too.

According to GUARDIAN's source, a U.S. economic adviser recently came to Peru on a "point-four" mission, learned the technique of tuna fishing, returned to Washington, resigned his official job and went into the fishing business—first lobbying a bill through the House taxing imported tuna fish. (A vote is pending in the Senate.)

He sent his 500-ton boats (Peru's biggest is 100 tons) to the Peruvian coast equipped with radar and helicopters. For bait the U.S. fishing boats hauled in great quantities of anchovies. The correspondent wrote:

> **As there are no Negro anchovies, they fish without discrimination, taking all of them.**

Anchovies are important to Peruvians because they attract the birds which in turn leave behind the guano. The correspondent concluded:

> **There is no Peruvian—conservative or communist, poor or rich, free or jailed—that is not opposed to the U.S. fishing expedition . . . that is taking off our last riches—the excrement.**

CALENDAR

Los Angeles

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FILM FORUM OF CHICAGO presents movies every Friday, 8:15 p.m. at People's Auditorium, 2457 W. Chicago. Features for Jan. 18: **THE RAINBOW** (U.S.S.R.), plus brand new color documentary from U.S.S.R.

TENANTS WINTER FROLIC. Honor Hez. Clemons, veteran tenants' leader, on his 56th birthday. PP Hall, 306 E. 43rd. Sat., Jan. 12, 10:30 p.m. Music, dancing, refreshments. Donation 50c. Auspices: Chicago Tenants and Consumers Council.

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THE MOORE MURDERS

Wife of NAACP victim dies in bomb aftermath; 600 from all over U.S. attend Florida funeral

THE last days on earth of Harry T. Moore, Florida leader of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, made a complete span of the holiday season of peace and good will: he was blasted to death by a bomb as he slept in his bed on Christmas night, he was buried on New Year's Day. On Thurs., Jan. 3, his widow, Harriett, died of injuries sustained in the same explosion. All through the U.S., horror, shame and anger built up; the whole world was shocked.

The last rites for the man who had devoted his life to his people's cause were held in a little white church set in the orange groves a mile from the shattered home in which he died. More than 600 persons attended, including 16 religious, civic and labor leaders who flew from New York and Pennsylvania for the ceremonies. A band of determined men surrounded the church: the state offered no police protection. Rev. James Massey, presiding, said:

> "Somebody has got to go front. And Mr. Moore went front."

THE MESSAGE LIVES: J. J. Elliott, a special investigator for Gov. Fuller Warren, sat quietly in the back of the church; not so quiet was Asst. State Atty. Hubert E. Griggs. He told the mourners:

> "Everything is being done to apprehend the foul murderers of your fine, sterling brother, Mr. Moore. I don't see how anybody in this county could have done it."

Silence. But "Amens" swelled up when Rev. Massey said:

> "You can kill the prophet, but you can't kill his message."

From Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, pres. emeritus of Bethune-Cookman College from which Moore, his wife and his two daughters graduated, came this tribute:

> "He fought hard for peace and justice."

Mrs. Moore, who had seemed to be recovering, left the hospital on New Year's Day for a last look at her husband, suffered a relapse on her return, succumbed two days later.

UNFOLLOWED LEADS: Shortly after the fatal blast, Mrs. Moore had told reporters she had "a couple of ideas" of who the killers might be. Investigator Elliott promptly ordered no more interviews. But Walter White, NAACP head, and a reporter for the Baltimore **Afro-American**, talked to her. She told them:

> "I think the Brevard County school system knows something about it."

Both Mr. and Mrs. Moore had lost their county school jobs when Moore insisted on equal pay for Negro and white teachers; he eventually won a favorable Supreme Court ruling on the issue. Mrs. Moore also gave White the names of three Brevard County residents who had recently complained that "too many Negroes were getting 'funny ideas' like Harry Moore," that "Moore was pushing things too fast." White turned the names over to the FBI, but on Dec. 30 a Miami **Herald** reporter wrote from the spot:

> If any suspect has even been questioned, that fact is unknown in this little community—where secrets are hard to keep.

"HE FOUND OUT": Reports from the scene were that only two FBI agents were assigned to the case and that they had spent all their time up to the funeral sifting soil under the Moore home to determine what kind of explosive was used.

HARRY T. MOORE
He went front

There was no report that Bill Hendricks, state Ku Klux Klan leader, had been questioned, although he was quoted in the press:

> "Moore was a good fellow, trying to help his race, but he found out that he was going about it the wrong way."

Many a Florida paper editorially deplored the murder, but few could examine the guilt squarely. Typical was the comment of a front-page columnist for the Orlando **Morning Sentinel:**

> Communists, bent on disturbing tranquil relations between the white and colored people of Florida, could well have plotted this crime to further blacken the good name of law and order in this state. We gravely deplore it.

PEACEFUL DIXIE: The tranquil relations include the Groveland riots of 1949, in which one Negro was killed by a sheriff's posse, and its aftermath when, last November, Sheriff Willis McCall killed Samuel Shepherd and critically wounded Walter Irvin, two other Groveland victims, while both were handcuffed together. (Moore had stumped the state demanding McCall's prosecution). They also include the 12 bombings since last June (no arrests) of Negro, Jewish and Catholic property in Miami.

As a background there are the revelations of the Kefauver Crime Investigating Committee linking Gov. Warren's administration with gamblers and racketeers. Warren himself refused to appear before the committee, later reinstated several officials who were forced out while the hearings were on.

"NONE IS SAFE": Protests and demands for effective action from every corner of the U.S. grew last week to unprecedented proportions. The NAACP said it had never in its history received so many messages of support and cooperation. It had, however, received no reply from Atty. Gen. McGrath to a Dec. 26 request for a conference with national and Florida leaders to discuss effective action to halt the terror (the request was repeated last week). The NAACP announced a South-wide conference of its branches on Jan. 20 in Jacksonville, Fla.

Arthur B. Spingarn and Dr. Louis T. Wright, NAACP pres. and chairman, wrote President Truman that the

> . . . wanton, cowardly murder . . . has shocked and horrified America because he [Moore] was guilty of no crime against society, of no behavior that begets violence, and of no beliefs contrary to the proud principles of the American heritage. . . .
>
> [The slayer] is the assassin of the democratic ideal. No man or group of any kind, complexion or size in our nation may proceed with safety on the business of democratic living if bombs, and terror, and murder in the night are to be permitted to supplant the Constitution and the laws of free America. No labor union is secure. No religious body has an asylum. No racial group is safe. No person who hates prejudice and bigotry and seeks to wipe it out by lawful means is safe from intimidation and death.

Peace (segregated) on earth

During the Christmas season, as we were thinking about peace on earth and good will among men, we might well have asked ourselves how we are progressing in our own country with our inter-racial relationships.

The Rural Church Dept. at Drew Seminary, Madison, N. J., has recently completed such a study in 483 communities in 17 counties in the rural South. This table shows the inter-racial situation in the 483 communities:

RELATIONSHIPS	NO. OF COMMUNITIES
Antagonistic	14
Complete isolation	266
Paternalistic	197
A mutual exchange of services	6
TOTAL	483

This study covers 104 pages and costs 40c. It deals primarily with the 570 Negro churches in these 17 counties. Only two of these Negro pastors had been invited to join an inter-racial alliance.

—Drew Seminary Rural Church Dept.

Ollie Harrington in Pittsburgh Courier

"Oh, it's you, Brother Bootsie. Don't be scared, come right in. I just got tired of hearin' about how they're shootin' and dynamitin' our folks, so I'm organizin' some civilian defense right here in my own parlor."

Genocide petition muzzled in Paris

IS the U.S. government guilty of genocide against its 15,000,000 Negro citizens? The Civil Rights Congress says Yes, has documented the charge with 240 pages of detailed evidence (GUARDIAN, Dec. 26). Last month copies were presented to UN officials in New York by Paul Robeson, in Paris by William L. Patterson, CRC head. U.S. response to the petition was an attempt to seize Patterson's passport. He went to Budapest where he told an interviewer:

> "I was summoned to the Paris Embassy and requested to surrender my passport. I refused. Then they told me they would visit me in my hotel. I didn't wait till they came."

Last week he was back in Paris, had a new charge: French authorities refused to tell him if 200 copies of the petition had arrived in France, intended for distribution to the 60 UN delegations. The muzzle was on. UN and U.S. spokesmen remained silent.

"CONTEMPT" CIRCUS—ACT II: Patterson is scheduled to go on trial in Washington this month on a contempt-of-Congress charge; during a Congressional hearing on "lobbying" charges against CRC, a Southern Congressman called him a "black son of a bitch," attempted to assault him physically. Pattersons' first trial on the charge ended with a hung jury.

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PEACE

U.S. vets run poll; big rally in Paris

VETERANS for Peace and Democracy (P.O. Box 5384, Metro. Sta., Los Angeles 55, Calif.) last week were distributing what they called America's Peace Poll with this list of questions (local papers please copy):

- **Do you favor an adequate price control program that protects the consumer with fixed income and the wage earner?**
- **Do you favor a tax program that protects the people in the smaller income brackets?**
- **Do you favor a tax-supported National Health Program that provides FREE medical, dental and hospital care?**
- **Do you favor a Fair Employment Practice Law that eliminates racial and religious discrimination in public and private employment?**
- **Do you approve that the government take over and operate without profit all plants making implements and material for national defense?**
- **Do you agree with Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas that the People's Republic of China should be recognized?**

Two leading newspapers in Denver, Colo., and one in Portland, Ore., polled their readers on what headlines they would most like to see in 1952; all three were swamped with variations on the idea of immediate universal peace.

POW, BAM & SOCK: But in Greenwood, S.C., a librarian was named winner in a national contest for the best idea for "fighting the cold war with Communism." Her idea: creation of "a clever comic character with good punch lines" to be ballooned from the west for "wide circulation among young Iron Curtainers." Her prize: a free trip to see the Freedom Ball in West Berlin.

In New York a major publishing house withdrew from a contract to publish in book form the recent World War III issue of **Collier's.** The **Nation,** liberal weekly, reported the decision was based on refusal of three of the original contributors to have their pieces included, and on a "rank and file protest movement among the editorial employes of the publishing house."

A MOTHER OF ORADOUR: In Paris, delegations of men and women elected from every department of France jammed the vast Velodrome d'Hiver for the "parliament of peace" Dec. 22-23. Top figures in art, literature, stage and screen took a leading part with Sorbonne professors, doctors, priests, scientists, economists, government employes and ex-servicemen; Francoise Rosay, France's Ethel Barrymore, spoke movingly for French culture and especially for its movie industry—once the country's second largest—which, she said, is being exterminated by inflation and American domination.

Biggest ovations went to Dr. John A. Kingsbury, chairman of the American-Soviet Friendship Council, who was seated on the stage as a distinguished visitor, and to a woman dressed all in black who began her speech: "I am a mother of Oradour." Said Mme. Bardet of Oradour, the village in which almost the whole population was slaughtered by the Nazis in 1944 (the men machine-gunned in barns, the women and children burned alive in the church):

> **"We do not want to see at Europe's head a Germany lusting for revenge. We protest the freeing of those who committed this frightful crime. Is the French army really to stand at the side of those who burned our church and murdered our babies? We fight for peace, for a future of happiness and security."**

Hundreds of Catholic delegates were present; West Germany was also represented. The peace parliament, with 10,000,000 signatures collected for the Big Five peace pact petition (almost one in four of the population), resolved to flood UN with delegations, petitions and letters for the rest of the General Assembly session.

Justice to the murderers, peace to the world!

The "mother of Oradour" at last month's Peace Parliament in Paris (see PEACE) spoke for the vast majority of Frenchmen and women who, remembering the Nazi terror, cry for justice, peace, and an end to all foreign occupations. French officials and UN delegates are bombarded with demands for peace similar to this photo postcard showing the smile "for France, for Liberty, for Peace" on the face of "the unknown Resistance martyr" as he faced a Nazi firing squad. The card's message: "Do not betray his courage, his sacrifice and his faith. Respect independence of peoples. De-nazify, disarm Germany. Respect UN's Charter."

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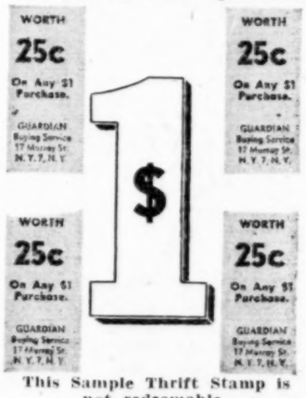

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This is "The Gladiatorial Circus of the American Century" as conceived by Mexican artists of the Workshop of Popular Graphic Arts. It appeared in their annual publication issued on the Day of the Dead—Nov. 1. The posters on the circus walls advertise "Dog Meat for the Braceros" (Mexican workers imported to work southwest American farms under peonage conditions) and "Buy the Readers Digest." The dominating figure at the left is "Little Nero" Truman holding a copy of the Smith Act; a Klansman and a "Super-Mouse" watch the attack on Peace by a man with a club.

BOOKS

Howard Fast, Spartacus and Bedlam U.S.A.

By Cedric Belfrage

BETWEEN 1941 and 1947 the historical fiction and biography of Howard Fast was being "hailed with joy" by the **Saturday Review of Literature,** called "brilliant" and "a trumpet blast for freedom and justice" by the N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** and "urged upon my readers" by Eleanor Roosevelt. His approach to history showed "wide, deep understanding of its inner meaning" (**Book-of-the-Month Club News**); he had won a reputation for "giving history a square deal" (**Time**) and as "one of America's finest writers of historical novels" (**Washington Star**). The Philadelphia **Record** found "exhilarating patriotic passion" in his work, the Chicago **Daily News** recommended it to "strengthen faith in democracy."

Today these echoes from prebedlam America appear mockingly on the jacket of a new and major Fast book, whose back bears no publisher's imprint for the reason that Fast published it himself. To publishers, bookstores and reviewers alike, this decade-long best-selling author is anathema. Recently freed from jail, Fast remains a prisoner behind the American iron curtain while an oriental horde of reds—who feel about Fast as Mrs. Roosevelt's occidental horde felt a few years ago—buy his "exhilaratingly patriotic" American books by the carload and flock to a dramatization of **Freedom Road** at Moscow's Theatre of Drama.

IT'S A COMPLIMENT: Taking as a reasonable sample of today's "literary" standards this **Herald Tribune** comment used by Truman Capote's publisher in an ad,

> . . . this story of some people who escaped life's problems by living in a tree house exhibits the maturing of one of America's best young writers. . . .

we may quickly determine to what extent Fast should feel insulted by his blackballing from the club. From our corner, Fast can take a bow for his own kind of maturity as shown in the book itself and in his quick decision to take publication in his own hands when Little, Brown got cold feet. He will not lack readers for **Spartacus,** which will provide all non-bedlamites not only with a profoundly exciting reading experience, but with an even more profoundly hopeful analysis of the stupidity of those who think the fight for truth and freedom can be crucified out of existence.

No American today writes less in a vacuum than Fast, with keener intent to do something for as well as to the reader; and by making a living story out of the Spartacus slave revolt he has perhaps added even more to our understanding of our historic struggle than in his re-creations of the American past. As a loyal member of the human race he is passionately aware of the decisive role

HOWARD FAST
Race? Human

now assigned by history to the American people. The struggle has taken new forms, but the essence of it, of the decisions individuals must take and of their consequences, has not changed since the slaves rose against imperial Rome. Those who have ears to hear, he is saying in this story of 2,000 years ago—let them hear.

HE SIDED WITH LIFE: What must this slave have been like who challenged the whole society that made him one? We come to know Spartacus and his dreams as we follow a gay week-ending party of patricians along Rome's super-highway—the Appian Way, an avenue now of crosses on which the bodies of 6,000 rebels captured alive have been left by "law and order" to rot, as not even the body of the Nazarene rebel who suffered the same fate 100 years later was allowed to rot.

Spartacus' chance had come after he was taken from the Buchenwald of the Nubian desert gold-mines to be fattened up as a gladiator—to amuse bored patricians by fighting other slaves to death in an arena. Somehow unquenchable in him was what his fellow-gladiator, the Jew David, recognized as "the secret of life. . . . You are on the side of life, or you are on the side of death." His comprehension of the nature of the enemy dawned when he found his body—"a thing of shame and filth" as long as he produced the things of life for his owners—suddenly precious after he "became a creature of death."

The trainer who owned him believed that as long as gladiators were treated as animals they would never assert their manhood. But Spartacus refused to be an animal, seized the moment to grasp his fate, and organized an army that defied Rome's comprehension. As Crassus, the general who finally "saved" Rome, confesses:

> "I know why the Greeks fight—for the same reasons that I do—but not why this slave fights. I don't know how he takes a rabble, all the filth and sweepings of the whole world, and uses them to destroy the best troops the world has ever known."

THE WAY OF THE CROSS: The slaves wiped out army after army sent against them, and Rome was more and more baffled—as tyrants in later times have been baffled—by the success of an untrained army steeled and welded by a common heritage, a common hatred; an army of men who fight till they die, for

> . . . there are no bridges over which it can retreat. . . . An army which suddenly has the knowledge that the victory to which it is committed must change the world, and therefore it must change the world or have no victory.

Many details of the story of the fight for freedom and its aftermath are not pretty. Crucifixion, which in one form or another has always been slave society's reward for rebels, is not pretty—as the Christian churches once understood before they made of it a mystical incense-perfumed ritual in the recapitulation. But man has moved forward in blood and agony, and the horror intrinsic to such a story achieves sublimity when the stress is on the forward movement, not on the blood.

THE PEOPLE'S SECRET: Testimony that Fast is moving toward a genuine literary maturity, as opposed to the leprous maturity of the Capotes, is in this book. His rare technical skill as a story-teller advances another stage. He has learned the secret of making his research a light shining through his story rather than a cloud overwhelming it with intrinsically fascinating data. Impressive too, is his advance in the treatment of reactionary characters—not by direct manifestations of the hatred which is their due from author and reader, but by the far more devastating method of showing how right and noble they make themselves appear in the plush bleakness of their own small world.

The ghost of personal frustration which haunts the knights of reaction through all history rises in the masterly final chapters of **Spartacus,** when Crassus (the victorious general with "more power than a Pharaoh") and Gracchus (the Tammany-style Roman politician) are willing to pay any price at all for the affections of Varinia, the slave girl who loved and was loved by Spartacus. But the secret of love, which will continue down the ages to reproduce Spartacus and Varinia and the menace they represent, is one that the tribe of Crassus is doomed never to unlock. And Gracchus, whose profession makes him a realist, ends by recognizing the Achilles heel of the oppressor class—a class which must depend on the willingness of paupers to die to keep intact the very system that pauperized them.

How long, Gracchus wonders, will they be willing

> . . . to go to foreign lands, to live in filth and squalor, to wallow in blood . . . to march off to destroy their own dreams, that sixteen slaves may carry a fat old hog like me in a padded litter?

SPARTACUS by Howard Fast. Published by Howard Fast, Box 171, Planetarium Station, New York 24, N.Y. $2.50.

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